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Nye, Gideon: Jr. 1873.

THE

"MORNING OF MY LIFE IN CHINA."

COMPRISING AN OUTLINE OF THE

HISTORY

OF FOREIGN INTERCOURSE

FROM THE LAST YEAR OF THE REGIME OF

HONORABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY,

1833:

TO THE IMPRISONMENT OF THE

FOREIGN COMMUNITY

IN

1839.

BY

GIDEON NYE, JR.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE

AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL SOCIETY:

AUTHOR OF RATIONALE OF THE CHINA QUESTION,

&c, &c.

CANTON.

1873.

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THE MORNING OF MY LIFE IN CHINA.

A LECTURE DELIVERED BEFORE THE CANTON COMMUNITY ON THE EVENING OF JANUARY 31st, 1873. by Mr. NYE :—

COUNT DE CHAPPEDELAINE,
CONSUL OF FRANCE, IN THE CHAIR.—

COUNT CHAPPEDELAINE :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

I rise to address you with a diffidence that it were vain to dissemble, and which I am sure you will feel is becoming in me, after the learned and attractive Orations and other classical entertainments of this brilliant Season.

I have not the vigorous grasp of a Sampson,* to "*bring down the house;*" nor the agile precision of a stripling David, to hit the mark with my pebble :—

* Allusion to a Gentleman who had lectured previously with much applause.

How, then, can I find courage to raise my eyes to those of the critical Scholar,* whose opening historical discourse was embellished with the flowers of Poetry; or expect to rival the interest of the other learned and scientific Lectures, with my feeble periods?

And how much less, can I hope to awaken a responsive chord of sympathy in the hearts of those whose ears were filled with the strains of "*God's Alphabet*"—(of Music)—so capably rendered to us early in the Season?

It is, therefore, in implicit reliance upon your indulgence, that in this the fortieth year since I reached Canton, I obey the command of the Gentleman —to whose initiative we are indebted for these social Assemblages—to contribute my simple mite to the ample offerings of others.

He bade me open "*the book and Volume of my brain*" and search the early records therein,— that I may narrate to you,—*Reminiscences of the morning of my life in China.*

Generously ignoring the proverbial garrulity of age,— and with a confidence that I could not share,—he assured me that what I feared would appear to you like the worthless Relics of a remote past, or as "*twice-told Tales*", would meet acceptance

*Revd. Mr. Chalmers.

at your fair and gracious hands :—But I am sure he did not perceive, at that time, the delicacy of the position that I now feel myself placed in, by his flattering confidence :—He did not see that he was thus constituting me *the Hero of my own story;*—and adding so much to my embarrassment, that I am fain to follow the example of the learned Doctor,* —(whose *brilliant* experiments *enlightened* us so much in the Mysteries of Chemistry),—and beg you to charge your disappointments this evening, to my worthy prompter.†—

Thus, my narrative will partake of the character of an Auto-biography and the initial of it will be "*I came*";—again the first personal pronoun will appear in "*I saw*";—to be followed by "*I met*";—and if I do not abuse the patience of your ears with—"*I am Sir Oracle*";—your escape will, I suspect, be only apparent as to the reality of my egotism.—

For example,—as to *why* and *how* "*I came*," —as a brief statement how it happened that I found myself here, *at the antipodal point from my home*,—at a somewhat tender and confiding age ;—I may say that the *Lode-Stone* that attracted me hither, was, doubtless, composed of several elements.—

* Dr. Kerr. † H. B. M. V. C. Mr. Gardner.

The very name of China—the distant *Cathay*,—was, at that day, pregnant of the Romance of History; and suggested imaginative dreams of

"*That vast shore*
Washed by the farthest sea":

so attractively portrayed by Shakspeare, as the goal of adventurous spirits.

Was there also here, in this heathen, mysterious land, some *occult* influence;—or, above this Mecca of the Merchants of those days, a *Star-of-Destiny*, drawing me to it; —and that with like power to the *Lode-Stones* of another Mecca, holds me still in mid-air ?—

If we follow the customs of our Native Friends, on this occasion, and consult the Astrologers, we shall, doubtless, find there was!—

For is it not written in the Mythological Records, that the origin of the native name of Canton, which is Yang-Ching —the "City of Rams," was derived from the following occurrence ?

(And my Young Friends especially will kindly here mark the similitude of names and titles.)—

"Five Gënii, clothed with garments of five different colors," and riding on Rams of five different colors, met at the Provincial

Capital; each of the Rams bore in his mouth a stalk of Grain having six ears; and presented them to the "people of the District, to whom the Gënii thus spake:"

"*May famine and dearth never visit your markets!*"

"Having uttered these words, they immediately disappeared; and the Rams were changed into Stone. From this same occurrence, this city is also called the "City of the Gënii", and the "City of Grain"; — and one of the Temples is named the "Temple of the Five Gënii"; whence also one of the Gates of the City bears the same name, and within it five Stone Rams are to be seen to this day."

We needed the aid of the Astrologers to trace a fanciful analogy of name and title; but we now come to a more natural element of the question,—which, added to the spice of romance in a youthful mind, sufficiently accounts for my coming hither: And I may now say that I should not have introduced this fanciful hypothesis, were not the fabulous origin of the name of Canton of interest in itself; and had I not also to relate hereafter, an incident of the first War with China, connected with these five protecting Gënii.—

The real incentive and desire that most powerfully drew me here was derived from the examples of my Cousins; and dates from my early youth.—

So early as the year 1817, my Kinsmen—(my Father being also part-owner)—sent a ship hither; and in her came my Cousin Ezra Hathaway as Supercargo: But my immediate Exemplar was his youngest Brother Mr. Francis S. Hathaway, who came here first in 1827;—and who, when about to return here to reside, in 1833, invited me to accompany him.—

We reached Lintin, which in those days was the only anchorage in the estuary, except Macao Roads, on the 26th of November; having passed a large East India Company's Ship near Lantao, with Mr. Chichily Plowden, Chief Supercargo of the Hon^{ble} Company, on board, bound to London.—

And, thus arrived in the "Outer Waters," which had as yet never been vexed by the incisive prow of a Steamer, we may pause to mark the wide difference of the aspect of the forbidden "Inner land" to the apprehension of Foreigners, at that day, to what it now presents: How different then the dread of the Mandarin power,—swaying,

as it did, the minds of ignorant millions, whose veneration of the Emperor's Will was absolute!—

This undefined dread of the power of numbers was of the nature of that inspired by the Ottoman power in the South of Europe, before the Battle of Lepanto; when Solyman the Magnificent reigned at Constantinople:—Never had the phrase "*ignotum pro magnifico*" more fitting application than to the Foreign Community of those days.—And the account I have now to give you of the manner of my reaching Canton, in company with my Cousin, will afford an illustration of the disabilities of Foreigners;—which, with others that I shall presently notice, should go far to reconcile my fair auditory to a residence here now, however disappointing China may be to Gentlemen fortune-seekers.—

Of these disabilities, I may instance the following.—

No person other than a Supercargo or one of the Officers or Crew of any Vessel was allowed to proceed to Canton; and Canton, you will please remember, was then the only Port open to Foreigners:—Nor were Supercargoes or Officers allowed to come to Canton except in their own vessels:

Each vessel must have a native Pilot from Macao, who would anchor her below the Forts at the Bogue and go on shore for the Mandarin Pass permitting her entrance of the river; the Pilot reporting *truthfully*, at the peril of his life, as to the number of Supercargoes (if more than one or a Passenger reported as such,) Officers and Crew; the nature of the Cargo, and *especially that no Foreign Women or other Contraband* were on board: And when the vessel reached Whampoa, one of the Hong Merchants had also to give a Bond to the same effect, as well as for the payment of the enormous Measurement Fees and the Duties on both the Import and Export cargo.—

Herein the most affecting disability was the interdiction of the Ladies; but it was not so much,—I submit,—a raising of the question of "*Women's Rights*", at that early day, as of *Men's Rights to have their Wives and Families with them here:* — And was it not *right* that we *rebelled* at that?

Why! there was a period when I saw neither Woman or Child of Foreign birth for three years and two Gentlemen at Canton had not seen such for seven years!—

Right or *wrong*, the interdiction was absolute,—for Sir William Barnes had

striven against this example of "*Man's inhumanity to Man*," a few years before, and failed; but both the attempt and failure conspicuously marked the high estimation in which the Fair-Sex were held by the Mandarins and the Supercargoes, respectively; —for so important did the Mandarins consider the interdiction that they stopped the whole Foreign Trade; and so concurrent was the opinion of the Chief Supercargo (and here is only a seeming paradox in the word concurrent) that the Right Honorable Baronet persisted in keeping Lady Baynes and her companions (Mrs. and Miss Low, wife and Niece of the then Chief of Messrs. Russell & Co.) here for some six weeks.—

Thus, the simple question, of the residence of Foreign Ladies here, was considered worth six weeks complete stoppage of the whole Foreign Trade.—

It is true that Sir William Baynes, the Representative of monopoly and conservatism on the part of England, was so far quite illogical; and that the triumph of the Mandarins was in this, as in all like controversies, quite logical; so that we might imagine the Vice Roy's launching a stinging *tu quoque* at Sir William, with—why open the door to this insidious change?

You uphold monopoly and restriction; and here you sap the very foundations of the imposing structure. Nor could these Ladies or their fair successors, thereafter, ever venture here again, until the war of 1841-42 opened the way for them:—And which, by the bye, did not reconcile the Canton people to the innovation.—

After this "*tempest in the tea pot*,"—as no Foreigner was then allowed to use a Sedan Chair, Sir William Baynes refused to allow the Hong Merchants to enter the British Factory in Chairs; and High Commissioner Lin made that claim of equality one article of his indictment against Foreigners in 1839.—

But, to return to the mode of my coming, with my Cousin, from our Ship off Lintin to Canton.

As my Cousin wished to come here before ordering the Ship into Port and there was no other vessel about to start for Whampoa,—by which we might take passage,—he ventured to adopt the expedient of a couragous Supercargo in like circumstances, by taking a small outside "Fastboat," such as Pilots used for running the gauntlet of the Bogue Forts.—

Never shall I forget the

perils and discomforts of that first ushering into the Inner Waters!—

The simple truth was that we were to be *smuggled bodily* into the country by night; and that there *were* perils, was shewn the next year or two by the cases of an American Captain and a British Officer, they being captured and held prisoners for some time: Our hope of escape from Mandarin vigilance was so to time our departure from Lintin, with reference to the wind and tides, as to pass the Forts at Chuen Pee, as well as the inner ones of Aneung Hoy and Tiger Island at the hour when the Sentinels would be wrapped in their deepest slumber; and still leave time to reach the house of "Boston Jack" (the old Comprador of American Ships), above the anchorage at Whampoa, before day light.—

To determine this time of departure required a consultation between Captain Macondray of the Station-Ship "Lintin" and the most knowing of the outside Fast boat men; and 4 o'clock P. M. was the hour appointed:—So, dining with the hospitable Captain Macondray,—who was afterward the founder of the great house of that name in California,—we embarked in the small boat, one of a class the most

unsteady that is used by the hardy native Mariners of this Coast and were hidden away under a low deck: A fresh Northerly breeze and a head-tide compelled short tacks for hours, that, in my half-asleep condition, were tiresomely long; every tack compelling us to change our reclining posture, to keep our heads up to the windward side, else — as sometimes happened — we found ourselves with our heads a foot or so lower than our heels and striking against the side of the boat.—At length we got near the Mandarin guard-boat lying under the Chuen Pee Fort and had to submit to the closing of the little hatchway,—suggestive of suffocation though it was, until the boat got past;—but the severest ordeal was still to come at Aneung Hoy Fort, which we had to pass directly under the frowning mouths of the Guns, so that the boat should be hidden by the parapet wall from the sentry house in the rear. Here again we were almost stifled by being covered up; and cautioned not to speak to each other: The boatmen as well as ourselves, leaving the helmsman alone on deck to steer, kept breathlessly still in this running the gauntlet of the Bogue Forts. There were remaining the fortifications on Tiger's Island; but we kept on the East Side of the

River, and thus after several hours more of tedious tacking, reached the Second Bar,—near the high Pagoda that still forms so picturesque a landmark in the lower part of this fine River.—

There we ran alongside a large East India Company's Ship;—several of which were anchored just below that Bar completing their cargoes for London, as was then the custom with those large deep Ships: I carry in the retina of my eye to this day, the bright, welcome light that shone upon the gloom of that night of anxiety—from the open port of that Ship's Gun-deck;—assuring us that our greatest perils were over and that we had but to resume our course for a few hours longer to reach the neighborhood of the Whampoa Shipping.—

At length, when really asleep from excessive fatigue, we were aroused by the announcement that we were at "Boston Jack's" landing steps,—but must still be silent until within his premises: He was awakened from his sleep and welcomed my Cousin as an old acquaintance and as *Mr.* "*Halfway*" (as though we had not gotten the *whole way*); and told him we must sleep the hour or two of the night still left, to await the coming of some American Ship's boat

to his house for Stores, as he could not prudently attempt to take us to any Ship in a native boat ;—so vigilant were the Mandarins and their spies, his envious neighbors.—

Sleep in such a place as he called a bed was impossible for me, placed as it was over the reeking mud of the shore ; and it seems to me that I can feel the chills I then suffered to this day :— But these were soon to be removed by the warmth of welcome to the boat and ship of Captain Dumaresq — the "Martha" of Boston ; on board of which, according to the courtesies of those days between Supercargoes and Captains, we were invited to take breakfast and given a boat of the Ship to take us to Canton; —another of the disabilities, at that time, being that no Foreigner could use a native boat :— And still others were that we had to stop at two Chophouses (Mandarin Stations) for our boat to be examined.—

Perhaps I shall best convey to you an idea of the degree of restriction put up on us here, at that time, by the following extract of an Edict of the Vice Roy as to Servants in our houses, issued early in 1834.*—

(* See Appendix)

The actual situation of Foreigners at Canton was aptly likened to the condition of the Animals in the Zoölogical Gardens of London. A writer said—"their position and general state hitherto appears to be illustrated by nothing else better than by the site and keeping of your Zoölogical Gardens: The inmates have been free to play what pranks they pleased, so that they made no uproar, nor escaped from confinement:— The keepers looked sharply after them, and tried to keep them quiet, because annoyed by the noise they made, and responsible for the mischief they might commit, if they got at liberty. They might do what was right in their own eyes with each other: —The Authorities of China did not expect from wild and restless Barbarians, the decorum and good conduct exemplified in their own great family."—

Thus arrived at Canton, we have reached a point in the narrative whereat the personal expands into the general and our view becomes essentially comprehensive:— For, although the Canton of that day presented to the Foreigner in general a very circumscribed geographical idea; and, indeed, to the Statesman a circumscribed political idea:— It being still the period of

close monopoly,—the *Regime* of the British East India Company, on the one hand, and of the Co-Hong, on the other;—yet to the Merchant, it was already an expansive commercial idea. It was the sole Mart of the Foreign Trade of China, and known the World over, as *par excellence*, the Great Mart of the East:— And destined soon to become the theatre of a course of memorable events, which in their inception were to inflate, and in their close, to humble the Mandarin pride in the dust.—

The period was, indeed, of the highest political and commercial interest:— For it was when the echoes of the din of preparation for the impending final struggle in the House of Commons, between the upholders of Monopoly and the champions of Free Trade, reached us by every vessel from the shores of England.—

It was the very eve of the expiration of the East-India Company's Charter; and the question of the renewal of its exclusive trading privileges,—associated as it had been in the mind of the time with the great contest for Reform in Parliamentary Representation,—deeply moved the passions of the respective Champions and attracted the attention of the World:— And it

forms, to this day, the most memorable assertion of the principles of Free Trade ever witnessed, with the exception of the struggle for the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846; —when I saw the same elements again in violent commotion, and with redoubled force of passion and of eloquence, in the great debate in the House of Lords:—Where, after sitting from half past four of the afternoon of the 28th of May, until half past four of the morning of the 29th, I was rewarded, indeed, by the closing Speech of the Great Duke of Wellington, —who, with his pocket full of proxies, carried the Bill by 47 Majority.

In the contest of 1834 in the House of Commons,—upon the question of the renewal of the Company's Charter,— was involved the whole question of intercourse with China :— It was the momentous question, whether the Representatives of England should henceforward continue to be Supercargoes, or whether they should be Ambassadors.—

You will perceive at a glance that here was one of the greatest questions of the age, —a question involving the relations of the great Empires and peoples of Britain and of China, not only ; but the relations of the World at large with China.—

The issues were momentous, indeed, on both sides of the World; and as monopoly had been co-working in the two Empires,—so were the impending changes in England to rëact upon China, and eventuate in international relations marking a new Era and opening up a vista of progress of most auspicious augury.—

There was a splendid array of talent and of eloquence on the two sides in Parliament,—for the Great Company was therein a Power second only to King and Parliament:— It controlled directly many Seats in Parliament; and, standing a stalwart Warder at the portal of monopoly, it swayed all the forces of conservatism to its support, to stay the deluge of change beating against it.—

Such was the question and such its elements of interest; and considering the critical state of the then present relations with China, you will comprehend the painful anxiety with which the handful of Foreigners in Canton awaited its decision.—

Thus, the year 1834 was ushered in under the still existing *Regime* of the Company; but the dawn of the new Era was near.—

On the 2nd of May the Vice-Roy Loo and most of the other high Officials made a visit to the British Factory, in the absence of the Supercargoes; and whilst seated on the terrace, had some *pleasantries* together over the repressive measures taken by their predecessor Choo, in 1831;—when he paid a visit for the purpose of reducing the size of the Company's Garden by as much as it had been enlarged a year or two before, by the Chief Supercargo.—

This act, accomplished by force and with a display of great haughtiness in his demeanour, shews the temper of the Authorities and the consequent critical nature of our relations.—

The period was, indeed, big of portents;—and here at the treshold of events, whilst the seething elements of violent change were held in check, we have time to regard the aspect of the place and pass in review the prominent actors in it.—

Here is a Picture of the Foreign Factories as they then existed.—

Here was the Seat of the great Trade of the Honorable East India Company, whose Chiefs in India were the modern "Kings of the East," and whose local Chiefs were men of note in England before

coming to China,—usually attaining to the rank of Baronet. There were three Supercargoes resident in China and a complete service of Secretaries, Chaplains, Surgeons, Tea-Inspectors, Writers &c., &c.—

An Honorable Company's Captain was, in those days, also a man of mark: His Ship was a vessel of war as well as of commerce,—the Gun-deck being always kept clear for action; with a full complement of Officers and large Crews and a Band of Music to play at time of meals.—

Here in this the British Factory, resided the Chief of the Company and in the six or seven Factories in the rear portion of the Hong, lived some of the other Officers and the Captains on coming to Canton: In the centre of the front, opening upon the terrace that you see, was the great Hall of the Company, a room so large that I saw the whole Community in it at a time, leaving space for twice their number: At one end of it was a grand full length Portrait of H. M. George the IV, by Sir Thomas Lawrence, and at the other one of Lord Amherst.— In the rear also was the Chapel, and the Bell and Clock Tower; the enormous Treasury being in the basement.

In this the "old English"

or "Lung Shun" Hong lived the 2nd and 3rd Supercargoes, the Secretary, the Chaplain, Tea Inspectors and other Officers, filling the six Factories in the Hong: It was in this Hong that I always lived after 1834, until driven away by Yeh in 1856,—the first five years in No. 4, which had been the house of Revd. Dr. Morrison and 17 years in the front Factory, or No. 1.

The rule was for the Chief and other Officers to come in October,—ostensibly in their ships from their own country, — and return in April, thus following the course of the Monsoons; and if they did not come and go in their ships from Canton, chops or permits were taken out for them by the Hong Merchants to go to Macao by the inner passage in native boats,—in order that reports, according to the permitted routine, could be made to Peking,—that the Foreigners had returned to their own countries.—Thus about Six months of each year was passed at Canton and the remainder at Macao.—

The allowance for the East India Company's Factory expenses in China was £ 100.000 Stg: per annum, of which the salary of the Chief, with the emoluments of his Office, amounted to about £ 25.000.

At Macao the Company's

Establishments were more extensive.— The two large blocks of palatial-like buildings on the Praya Grande next south of the Palace of the Governor, of four or more separate houses each, were occupied by the Company. The Chief and other two Supercargoes had, beside, separate mansions ; several of them at different periods occupying what is now known as the Caza-Garden, wherein is the Grotto of Camoens ; and where may still be found the tomb stones of Mr. Robartes and Lady Metcalf ;—as may also be found in the adjoining Cemetery those of Sir Walter Frazer, Revd. Dr. Morrison and others of the Company's Service : — Beside Mr. Robartes and Sir Theophilus Metcalf, among other recent Chiefs was Sir James Bannerman and nearly a century ago Mr. Pigou, Mr. Fitzhugh and Mr. Lance had also lived at the Caza-Garden :—a spot consecrated to classic fame by the genius of Camoens ; and at a later period associated with the mysterious fate of La Perouse,—whose Observation tower and stone table, founded upon volcanic scoria or lava, are still existing upon a terrace overlookingt he western wall.—

Mr. Plowden lived many years in the mansion known as "Shàp Lòk

Chue"— 16 pillar-house,— of which I held the lease for 17 years, until I transferred it to one of our neighbors here.

We thus pass in review, as the more recent holders of the Office of Chief Supercargo, Sir James Urmston; Mr. Drummond, who afterward established his claim as Viscount Strathallan; Sir George Staunton; Sir Theophilus Metcalf; Sir James Bannerman; Sir Walter Frazer; Mr. Majoribanks; Sir William Baynes; and Mr. Plowden.—

It was, indeed, a great Service; and at an earlier period the Honorable Company had its mission and fulfilled it well. It had been one of the proper glories of England and all Merchants were rightly prouder of their calling for what it had done. In this case had been conspicuously verified the ascription by a profound Historian, of a proper fame to Commerce as the pioneer of Civilization:— That Historian says: "The first seats of Commerce "became the first seats of Civilization. Ex- "change of Merchandize led to exchange of "ideas; and by this mutual friction was first "kindled the sacred flame of moral and in- "tellectual culture."—

The Company's system gave confidence

to the Chinese Government and people ; and on the other hand, also, it lent more or less protection to all Foreign Trade, at a period else of complete incertitude in the relations with China.—

We must not regard these Merchants as only the pampered Lords of Monopoly :— Far from it:—They had not been simply the Pioneers of intercourse :— They had become great political Personages, —swaying the destinies of a hundred millions ;—the veritable "Kings of the East": And while in India they governed with wisdom ; in China, they furnished the element of order and peace for a long period of time.

Their policy in China, as in India, was tentative ; they could impose no other at that time : — Their recognized position was simply that of Merchants ; they could not rightly aspire to be political or moral Reformers. Their steps were measured by the necessities of the hour ; and, surely, in the eyes of the Student of History, if not in those of superficial observers, it ceases to be a reproach that in India the genius of a Clive grasped the else-precarious sceptre of Empire and wrought order from chaos :— As at a later period,—with a like intrepidity and a kindred stroke of genius,—

an Elliot sped to the rescue of the Foreign community here; and inextricably established the responsibility of the Court of Peking;— thus breaching the ponderous wall of exclusiveness, behind which China had hidden her weakness for centuries.—

But now the Company's mission in China was fulfilled,— for the spirit of the age was bursting the fetters of monopoly and prescription; and England's power was too well assured on the Ocean by her Navy, to longer require an armed Merchant fleet capable of self-protection,— as to a great extent the Company's fleet had been.

Such was the Honorable East India Company; and so composed, of men of distinction and character, was its Service in China.—

We may now turn to the other prominent persons of a community singularly select and intelligent as Merchants; and from the conditions of life in such close proximity, remarkably well-affected toward each other,—restrained by no Law but that of honor.— It is true there were two parties among British residents, separating them in social life,—one portion being more especially adherents of the Company's Officers, and generally more conservative of disposition; and

the other portion the more outspoken champions of Free Trade, and, as such, allies of the Manchester school of that day:—But all, on either side, were high-toned Gentlemen; and although party spirit ran so high that the names of Montague and Capulet were applied to the respective partisans, there was nothing between them unbecoming to Gentlemen.

There was, however, an utter dearth of the graces and finer amenities of life, in the want of Ladies' society; and a mere glimpse of a fair one then would have been like *'dropping Manna in the way of starved people.'*

The most prominent individual figure, after the Company's Chief, was Mr. Jardine; the first of the name in China and head of the great House that still bears the name.—The whole Foreign Trade was then centered here and he controlled a full third of it during the next few years; having one Season no less than 75 ships to his consignment: In short, his transactions were collossal. He was a very courteous man and very generally popular: My Cousin used sometimes to take me to call on him; and I may mention one or two of his remarks as illustrations of his admirable composure, in the midst of the panic caused by the great financial crisis in Europe and America of 1837.—At that period he

held several hundred thousand Pounds Sterling of American Bills upon the three Banking Houses of Thomas Wilson & Co., Timothy Wiggin & Co., and George Wildes & Co. of London, who had all failed,— the second of them, Messrs. Wiggin, being, also, his own Bankers; and he had recently heard that the Bills bearing his Firm's endorsement were taken up "*for honor*" by Messrs. Magniac Smith & Co. It was at the darkest moment; and he asked my Cousin—after saying, "Mr. "Hathaway, you know that I hold a large "amount of American Bills, the Protests of "which are now coming out,—do you think "one half of them will be paid" ?—My Cousin replied that he thought a larger proportion of them would be paid. The calmness of Mr. Jardine in putting this question upon a point involving several hundred thousand Dollars, at least, struck *me*; and it was a particularly interesting question to my Cousin, whose Bills to the extent of £ 54.000. were included, although Mr. Jardine had politely refrained from allusion to them. And it was a satisfaction afterward to hear that, not only were my Cousin's Bills provided for long before maturity, although Messrs. Thomas Wilson & Co. upon whom they were drawn, had failed; but that Messrs Jardine, eventually, lost very little by the Bills of other parties.—

Mr. Jardine had previously remarked: "Well, Mr. Hathaway, Mr. Majoribanks "made his money from the Company and now "the Company has lost it for him";—alluding to the failure of his Firm, Messrs Majoribanks and Ferrers,—who had entered very extensively into the China Trade, enjoying facilities from the Financial Agency of the Company, established by the Parliamentary Act of December 1833; against which Mr. Jardine and his friends had protested as a virtual continuance of the Company's business in China.—

Mr. Jardine had made Sir James Matheson his Partner a year or two before. Another of his Partners was Mr. Henry Wright, who had not left their Hong for a period of 7 years; and who on looking around found he had no hat.

The House of Messrs. Russell & Co. was then the most prominent of the American Firms; and had at the time of my arrival 26 ships here and in the neighborhood to load with Teas.—

Messrs. Thomas Dent & Co. then ranked second only to Messrs. Jardine in the amount of business in their control; and to this Firm subsequently, were joined Mr. Robert Inglis and Mr. Joseph R. Reeves of the Company's Service.

Mr. Lindsay, Secretary of the Company, established a House of his own ; as did also Mr. James Daniell of the Company's service and Mr. John C. Whiteman, respectively.

Messrs Turner & Co. became also large shippers of Tea on the opening of the Free Trade.—

There were several large Parsee Firms conducting, in common with Messrs Jardine, Messrs Dent and other minor British firms, the great trade with India,—which in the article of Cotton was larger then than it is now.—

The Shipping interest next in magnitude to that of the Company was that of Bombay, which with the trade with other Ports of India employed many large ships, known in China and India as "Country Ships," in contradistinction to "Company's ships." This India Service was also a golden one for its Commanders and Officers ; and thus acquired capable and respectable men, many of whom had been in the Company's service as juniors.

A similar position of respectability was held also by the Captains and Officers in the American Trade ; and as well in the trade of the Danish, French, Swedish and other European Nations.—

There were few or no ships

seeking freight in the Market; the most being intended to load for their Owners' account, for whom Supercargoes or the Captains came empowered to act.—

It was thus that the whole Foreign community, casual as well as permanent, was respectable and select; and I allude to this point again, as it accounts for the general order and sobriety that characterized it at that period:—A condition of the first importance, considered in relation to the anomalous position that the community held toward the Chinese Government.—

But I fear that I am *merchandising* too much for the taste of my fair Auditory and young friends; and I must now tell them that beside the Merchant Princes and mere Merchants, Supercargoes and Commanders of great ships, there were also professional men of mark; and scattered amongst the community generally, some real Geniuses in Wit, Science and Art.— I mention first the name of the lamented Reverend Dr. Morrison, whose premature death (at the age of only 53) on the 1st of August 1834, cast a gloom over the whole community.—There was the gifted and genial Artist, George Chinnery—of Irish birth, who in his youth had been compromised in the rebellious movement of Lord Edward

Fitz Gerald,—but was allowed to live in India and China :—His ample fund of anecdote will soon be utterly forgotten ; but his Works of Art—being the emanations of a real Genius —will outlive us all,—so true is it that "we are the shadows and they are the realities," as the Monk of the Escorial said to Sir David Wilkie of the works of genius there.—Chinnery had also some of the, so called, characteristic weaknesses of genius, with his geniality of disposition ; and such an exuberance of imagination and fancy that there was a *gusto* in much that he did approaching the grotesque: —He wielded a vigorous and facile, though somewhat wayward pencil,—it was Nature's self in conveying action; and nothing was more admirable than his rendering of general natural effects: But his *gusto*, or exaggerated ideal, in color, sometimes overmastered his hand, which in Art is scarcely a fault as an exuberance of feeling, though it may pass the just measure of truth; and one would regret its absence if it were replaced by a severe literalness.—Among other instances of his humorous fancy was a caricature of himself, standing in the stern of a boat just leaving the steps at Calcutta,—that "City of Palaces" in the background, and he with his hat off waving an adieu to it, with the motto at foot "*Too hot*" !—the meaning

understood by his friends being that he was leaving debts and some other more exacting liabilities behind him.—Another anecdote that fitly follows this, was his suddenly packing up his effects at Macao on one occasion, when he heard that Mrs. Chinnery was coming on from Calcutta to join him;—Ladies being ,then, you will kindly remember, interdicted from coming to Canton.—He was a welcome accession in the private Theatricals of those days, and I remember took the part of Madame Malaprop: in the "Rivals." He died early in 1852 at Macao, and a Fund was raised for a Memorial Tablet to his memory; but it has not yet been received from England.—

There was the accomplished Chief Surgeon of the Company, Dr. Thomas R. Colledge, who succeeded Dr. Pearson, the introducer of inoculation among the Chinese: Dr. Colledge lived chiefly at Macao the latter part of his residence in China; and there married an American Lady, Miss Shillaber: He has been from the first and still is President of our Medical Missionary Society. There was also Dr. Anderson, his Assistant.

Mr. Joseph R. Reeves, F. R. S. had the chief charge of the Tea-testing and buying of the Company, in succession to his Father; a duty that in those days of stability

in the London Market, was less distracted by anxieties than it is to us "Free Traders," though then the stock of Tea in London was not allowed—(by the conditions of the Company's Charter)—to fall below a year's consumption: —Thus Mr. Reeves had leisure for his scientific pursuits and Musical *Soirèes*; the latter held once a week.—

Sir John Davis and others were distinguished as literary men before they became Supercargoes of the Company.—

There was also here living the hearty. rubicund Dr. Richard Henry Cox, one of the Company's Surgeons, a Welshman with a flock of goats filling this enclosure in front of the Danish Hong, in which he lived:—Who used to "*double us up*" by the vigorous thrusts of his fists of a morning, to see if our liver was sound; and finding us unflinching, would often invite us to his bountiful Breakfasts,—sure to be garnished with Goat's Milk and Cheese. In front of his factory was a second enclosure, within which the then Chief of Messrs Russell & Co. (the late Mr. Augustine Heard) used to take exercise by riding a Pony up and down, the only one here; to the intense amusement of Chinese spectators in a native Restaurant overlooking it,—where seats were sold,—so rare was it to see the antics of a Barbarian's Pony.—

At the foot of the same Hong lived Mr. John C. Whiteman late of the Honorable E. I. Company's Service, who was once visited by an irate Scotch Gentleman, accompanied by his Second, armed with a huge Malacca Joint, while at dinner ; and told, as that, so called, Penang Lawyer of that day was laid on his shoulders, that he must consider himself chastised,— because Mrs. Whiteman had refused to receive the call of the valiant wielder of it when he was last at Macao. The community hardly knew whether to regard this feigned castigation—emphatic only in words —a stroke of broad humour by the Scot or not; but 'twas thought, if not said, that however right to scourge a negro, a *Whiteman* should go *Scot free*; and the absurdity of this proceeding was heightened by the mature ages of this Scotch Gentleman and his Second, neither of them being much under 60 years of age, it being conjectured indeed that the latter went with him to humor him and prevent more than a formality.— It was the same eccentric Scotchman who, with the resolute will of his race and Country, when a Silversmith disappeared owing him money, went personally to the City-gates with a Petition ; and redress not being promptly accorded, went also to the defaulter's shop and there remained, having

his meals sent to him, until the Hong Merchants satisfied the debt. His mind eventually became lamentably overwrought; and impelled him,—in retaliation for various real or imaginary grievances,—on one occasion, it was said, to take command of his own Opium Schooner and in her run the gauntlet of the Bogue Forts, forcing his way to Whampoa and Canton.—He subsequently died in Macao and was buried there:—I do not mention his name because of these aberrations in a character else of sterling qualities.—

There was also here Mr. Henry Matthew Clarke of the Company's Service who was author of a clever Conundrum :—Being in the Company's house at Macao overlooking the small boats on the Praya Grande, and pointing to a ship lying at anchor in the Roads, asked—Why is the ship there like one of these boats here ?—Because she is *at anchor— a "Tanca."*—

There was a Gentleman of my acqnaintance who had lived in India and who related to me an instance of a ready rapartee, that I think you will appreciate :—A brilliant assemblage of Ladies and Gentlemen dining at the table of the Vice Roy at Calcutta, a Lady, at dessert, asked a Gentleman to hand her a Mangoe from across the table; it happened

that a dish of a species of small Raisins from the Persian Gulf called "*Kis-Mis*" was between them, into which the Mangoe, as it seemed unfortunately, fell:— She exclaimed involuntarily— "*Oh!— how awkward!*" — "*No*", said he, "*how naturally the man-goes to kiss-miss!*"

Among Americans of note, I mention first the Revd. Dr. Bridgman, the early co-laborer with Dr. Morrison in the Missionary field; and to whom was joined, the year of my arrival, the excellent Dr. Wells Williams, who is still spared to us with all his store of ancient lore and unselfish benevolence. And the year after came Dr. Parker upon his benevolent mission, to which after years of devoted labor succeeded his political mission as Chargé and Minister. I mention next the oldest resident at that time, Mr. James P. Sturgis, who, after I came, resided chiefly at Macao; but kept this, the front Factory of the Swedish Hong reserved for his own use, until his old friend Mr. Snow came out as American Consul, when he gave him free use of it. Mr. Sturgis was a Gentleman of strong will and cultivated mind, who lived a retired life; and to whom,—perhaps consequently,—some eccentricities of character were attributed.— The nephew of Mr. Sturgis, Mr. Russell

Sturgis, who came here in 1834 and has long been a partner of the great house of Baring-Brothers, was a highly cultivated man and of a rich humor and ready wit; and of whom I may relate a dramatic incident of rather more recent occurrence: Being present at a féte that I gave at Green Island, Macao, in honor of H. E. Mr. Cushing, the negotiator of the American Treaty of 1844, and joining in the attempts of Mr. Fletcher Webster, the 1st Secretary of Legation, and Mr. Pierce the Consul, to amuse the Ladies, he observed their rough play with each other just as Webster—who was a Son of the great Statesman— had thrown himself down a steep, bank and lying at the foot was feigning death,—whilst Pierce, in an attitude of the mock heroic, with one foot upon Webster's breast and his right arm uplifted, was about to apostrophise the fallen great, when on the instant Sturgis excited the applause of every one with the exclamation—"*See—hear—Pierce's l-e-g on Webster!*"

Mr. Charles W. King, of the house of Olyphant & Co. (who died in my presence near Aden in 1845) was a prominent actor and writer in those days; and I well remember his assisting Mr. Lindsay and others to remove the Cross and expel the Mandarin and executioner from the front of the factories

on the memorable 3rd. of December 1838,—although he had opposed the Opium Trade; —and was subsequently distinguished by High Commissioner Lin, who caused an Edict commendatory of Mr. King's abstention from that Trade affixed to the door of his factory.

Others of my Countrymen who were my early contemporaries here and who have since been distinguished in public positions, are John C. Green, Esquire of New York, a leading Member of the famous Committee of 70; the Honorable John M. Forbes late a State Senator of Massachussetts, who married my Cousin; and Abiel Abbot Low, Esquire ex-chairman of the New York Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Wm. C. Hunter, now of Paris, had acquired a knowledge of the Chinese language at the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca; and used to act as Interpreter sometimes, in communications with the Chinese Authorities at the Consoo-House of the Co-Hong.—

Perhaps you do not like my *light Wares* ? —I have no *lac'ò* materials, — but a plain *unvarnished* Tale to tell:—

A later importation of them from India, I will venture to offer if I am not tiresome, though it has been published once, I believe, after it was first communicated to

me by a letter of its Author :—Who being at a reception of the Vice-Roy of India at the period of the capture of Scindh by Sir Charles Napier, — that most loyal of the pupils of Wellington, and whose fame for the laconic form of his despatches and the light weight of his marching kit surpassed that of his Master,—conceived a Conundrum from Sir Charles' message announcing his crowning victory :— "Why does Sir Charles claim a *great merit* and "acknowledge a *great fault* in his message ?" Because it reads simply—"*I have Scindh.*"—

But it is time for me to resume the more tangible thread of my Recollections.

The course of political events then became very rapid :—In May the news of the opening of the Free Trade with England reached Canton and in the same month the first ship direct,— the "Sarah,"— was despatched to London with a very valuable cargo, chiefly of Raw Silk belonging to Mr. Jardine and his friends.— And thenceforward there was a period of suspense in the public mind, as well that of the Chinese as that of foreign Residents,—as to the attitude that the Authorities of China would assume toward the Representatives of His My William IV, whose commission dated Brighton December 10th 1833 appointed Lord Napier, Mr. Plowden and Mr. Davis Superintendents of Trade :—

His Lordship with Lady Napier and family reached Macao on the 15th of July and as Mr. Plowden had already left China the previous November, Sir George Robinson, Baronet, was appointed third Supercargo.—

It was the obvious and settled policy of England to prevent a rupture; and well-informed of the purpose of the Emperor of China to maintain the restrictive system, the Government of H. M. William IV. strove to disguise the change of attitude consequent upon the retirement of the Company from China:— Yet, as between the two Governments, so far as that of China permitted explanation, there was no attempted deception. Accordingly, the new Representatives of England were styled First, Second and Third "Superintendents of "the Trade of British Subjects to and from the Dominions of the Emperor of China"; ostensibly corresponding to First, Second and Third Supercargoes of the Company; and although Lord Napier was made Chief-Superintendent, the others were taken from the Company's board of Supercargoes.—

This attempt to conciliate the Chinese Government was not successful, as we shall see; and then arose the question in H. M.'s Councils whether to temporise or not. —Some have thought it had perhaps been

better to effect the radical change, from the Regime of the Company to that of the Ambassadors, by one stride; but I consider, myself, that the tentative course which was pursued was the most judicious. Indeed, such was the state of parties in England and so large the pecuniary stake of her Government, in the Tea Duties and other sources of Revenue, that it was obvious,—in the nature of things,—that no solution was probable save by the initiative of the Chinese Government; and by it only in the spirit of the claim to Universal Dominion.

The report of Lord Napier's arrival in Macao Roads soon reached the ears of the Vice Roy and he issued an Edict on the 21st July as noted below.*—

*_Loo, governor of Kwangtung, &c. &c. to the hong merchants:_—

The Hee (or naval officer,) of the Heängshan district, with others, has reported "that an English war vessel having on board a barbarian *eye*, had from the outer seas, sailed to Cabreta point (off Macao), and there anchored. On inquiry it was stated that he was to examine and have superintendence of the said nation's merchant vessels coming to Canton to trade, &c. As duty requires, a report is made."

According to this, I have examined and find, that hitherto, outside barbarians trading to Canton have only had *taepans*, (chief supercargoes,) buying and selling goods. They have been permitted to request permits, and then come to Canton. But ordinarily they have only had permission to reside at Macao. The English have traded at Canton upwards of a hundred years, and with regard to all the regulations, there has long been mutual tranquillity. The said hong merchants before reported, that this year the English company is dissolved. The barbarian *eye* who has now come is of course

for the superintendence and examination of this business. And the barbarian *eye* is not on a par with the taepans. If he wishes to come to Canton, it will be necessary to make first a clear report, requesting the imperial will on the subject. As to the commercial affairs, if there be circumstances absolutely requiring the establishment of other regulations, a petition of requests, after inquiry and deliberation on the part of the hong merchants, must also be sent by them, that a memorial may be prepared, and obedience called for.

Uniting these circumstances, this order is issued. When the order is received by the said merchants, let them immediately go in person to Macao, and ascertain clearly from the barbarian *eye*, for what he has come to Canton province. Let them also inquire fully and minutely as to what other regulations require to be now established, since this year the said nations's company has been dissolved. Then let them report in answer, to afford evidence on which to make a plain and full memorial, for directions as to what conduct is to be observed, and as to what obedience is to be required. And let them authoritatively enjoin the established laws of the *Celestial Empire*, that, with the exception of the taepans and other barbarian merchants trading to Canton, none can be permitted to come to Canton, without a report having been made, and the mandate received. The said barbarian *eye*, having to examine concerning and superintend the affairs of commerce, may reside at Macao. If he wishes to come to Canton, he must inform the said merchants, that they may previously petition me, the governor, and I will by post-conveyance send a memorial, and all must respectfully wait till the mandate of the great Emperor has been received. Then orders will be issued to require obedience. Oppose not! A special order.

Taoukwang, 14th year, 6th moon, 15th day. [July 21st, 1834.]

His Lordship had left Macao in H. M. Sloop "Larne" before the Vice Roy's injunction to remain there, pending reference to the Emperor, had reached him; and leaving the "Larne" outside the Bogue he came to

Whampoa in one of the naval Cutters,—where he took passage in the boat of a Bombay ship and came to Canton. Then arose that strife of words and those vexatious restrictions,—affecting all Foreigners alike and including the stoppage of the Trade,—that were to end in the early death of Lord Napier.—

The following extracts of two Edicts of the 27th and 31st of July exhibit the unbending temper of the Vice Roy and a subsequent one of the 18th of August of a still more stringent tenor was accompanied by the stoppage of the British Trade.*—

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*As to the object of the said barbarian *eye's* coming to Canton, it is for commercial business. The Celestial Empire appoints officers—civil ones to rule the people—military ones to intimidate the wicked. The petty affairs of commerce are to be directed by the merchants themselves. The officers have nothing to hear on the subject. In the trade of the said barbarians, if there are any changes to be made in regulations, &c., in all cases, the said merchants are to consult together, and make a joint statement to the superintendent of customs and to my office. Whether (the proposals) shall be allowed or disallowed must be learned by waiting for a reply publicly. If any affair is to be newly commenced, it is requisite to wait till a respectful memorial be made, clearly reporting to *the Great Emperor*, and his mandate received. Then it may be commenced, and orders may be issued requiring obedience.

The great ministers of the Celestial Empire, are not permitted to have private intercourse by letters with outside barbarians. If the said barbarian eye *throws in* private letters, I, the governor, will not at all receive or look at them. With regard to the barbarian factory of the company, without the walls of the city, it is a place of temporary residence for

barbarians coming to Canton to trade. They are permitted only to eat, sleep, buy, and sell in the factories. They are not permitted to go out to ramble about. All these are points decided by fixed and certain laws aod statutes; which will not bear to be confusedly transgressed.

To sum up the whole matter: the nation has its laws; it is so everywhere. Even England has its laws. How much more the Celestial Empire! How flaming bright are its great laws and ordinances. More terrible than the awful thunderbolt! Under this whole bright heaven, none dares to disobey them. Under its shelter are the four seas. Subject to its soothing care are ten thousand kingdoms. The said barbarian *eye*, having come over a sea of several myriads of miles in extent to examine and have superintendence of affairs, must be a man thoroughly acquainted with the principles of high dignity. And in his person he sustains the duties of an officer—an *eye*. Then only can be control and restrain the barbarian merchants. ... ...

Let them instantly on the same day, report in answer. At the same time, let them order and *compel* him immediately, with speed, to return to Macao, and reside there, waiting till I, the governor have made a prepared report to request the imperial will to be made known, that it may be obeyed. Should there be any opposition, the said merchants will be held solely responsible. Tremble,—intensely, intensely, tremble! These are the orders.

Whereupon Lord Napier issued the under-noted circular.

Interesting to the Chinese merchants. Present state of relations between China and Great Britain. A true and official document.

On the 16th of January, 1831, the viceroy Le, in consequence of advice from the hong merchants, issued an edict requiring the chief of the factory to write home, stating that in case of the dissolution of the East India company, it was incumbent on the British government to appoint a chief to come to Canton for the general management of commercial dealings, and to prevent affairs from going to confusion; whereupon, at the dissolution of the company, the king of

Great Britain, in accordance with the wishes of the viceroy, appointed Lord Napier, a member of his own household, an hereditary nobleman, and captain in his royal navy, to come to Canton for the above most laudable purpose, and report himself by letter to the Viceroy accordingly. Lord Napier arrived at Canton on the 25th of July, and next day forwarded his letter to the city gates, which was offered to the mandarins for the purpose of being delivered, and refused by the whole of them. It is false, to say that the British officer who carried the letter desired to force his way with in theprecincts of the palace. The hong merchants, it is true, desired to take it, but it was quite derogatory to the dignity of the representative of the King to communicate through the merchants. The Viceroy now complains that he knows not for what reason Lord Napier has come, at the same time forgetting the edict of his predecessor, which brought him here. as well as his own obstinacy in refusing to receive the letter of a man of equal rank with himself. His Excellency then publishes edicts requiring Lord Napier to retire to Macao, and on the 18th of Aug. publishes another edict, in which he states that the hong merchants have requested the trade to be stopped, but in commiseration, says he, "I again give temporary indulgence and delay,"—knowing at the same time that the trade had been actually stopped by the hong merchants two days before. The Viceroy then sends the Kwangchow foo, the Kwangchow hee, and the Chaouchow foo, to require of Lord Napier the object of his visit, the nature of his duties, and the time of his return to Macao. Lord Napier replies to the first, by a reference to the edict of January, 1831 ; to the second by a reference to his letter to the Viceroy, which contains all the intelligence, and which they refuse to open or convey ; and to the third, that his return to Macao depends entirely on his private convenience. The ignorance and obstinacy of the Viceroy has thus allowed the hong merchants to put a stop to the trade, when he himself only threatens to do so. He sends his mandarins, and they return as they came, when the official document was offered for their conveyance ; and the consequence is, that thousands of industrious Chinese who live by the European trade, must suffer ruin and discomfort through the perversity of their goverment. The

merchants of Great Britain wish to trade with all China on principles of mutual benefit; they will never relax in their exertions till they gain a point of equal importance to both countries, and the Viceroy will find it as easy to stop the current of the Canton river, as to carry into effect the insane determinations of the hong. [Signed] NAPIER,
Canton, August 25th, 1834. Chief Superintendent.

This Manifesto of Lord Napier was followed on the 2nd of September by a very lengthy and still more imperative Edict of the Vice Roy, the following extracts of which will suffice to shew the gravity of the situation.—

Moreover, Lord Napier, without having made petition for the purpose of asking that a clear memorial should be drawn out to request information of the imperial will, did suddenly rush up hither thrusting forth his own opinion. From time to time orders were enjoined on him. Of myself, I, the Governor, may say, that I have lowered myself to regard the barbarian disposition; but the said barbarian eye has listened to what has been told him as if he were entangled in a net. He is indeed stupid, and ignorant. It is impossible to make him comprehend reason. If such a misled, extravagant man be at Canton in control of the trade, the mercantile people also will hereafter be unable to enjoy mutual quiet. It is evidently becoming that the ships' holds should, according to law, be closed.

With the exception of all goods, the sale or purchase of which was settled previously to the stoppage, and which in consequence are still allowed to be transferred; it is now jointly decided by us, the Governor and lieutenant-Governor, that from the 12th day of the present moon [August 16th], all buying and selling on the part of the English nation be wholly stopped.

Besides giving orders to all the hong merchants to pay obedience hereto, and to withdraw from the barbarian factories all compradors, linguists and hired servants; besides also sending an official communication to the hoppo,—making in-

quiry for and seizure of Chinese traitors, to be tried and punished,—and making a proclamation in print drawn from the several successive orders before issued,—this proclamation and clear order is now also issued.—For this purpose, proclamation is hereby made to all you soldiers and people, mercantile men and others, and to all the barbarian merchants of every nation, requiring your full acquaintance herewith.

From the period of this proclamation, mercantile people of this inner land are not permitted to buy of or sell to the English nation any goods or thing whatever, large or small; and all manner of workmen, boatmen, &c. are also not allowed to receive hire or employ of the said barbarians. Should there be any clandestinely having dealings or receiving hire, let the local officers immediately examine and seize them, to be punished according to the law against holding clandestine intercourse with foreign nations. In this the said barbarianeye, Lord Napier, has cut himself off from the Celestial Empire. It is not at all what we, the Governor and lieutehant-Governor have liked to do.

The barbarian merchants of all other nations are still permitted to trade as usual. They need have no suspicion or anxiety. Let all with trembling awe obey. Oppose not. A special proclamation.

Taoukwang, 14th year, 9th moon, 29th day.

[September 2d. 1834.]

"Upon the appearance of this decisive edict, says the Editor of the Repository, there was much agitation manifest in Canton. We purposely avoid for the present any expression of opinion regarding these extraordinary procedures, and shall barely present the leading facts. When the Chinese soldiers appeared about the foreign factories, on the publication of this order, and all the native servants and porters were withdrawn from the British factory, Lord Napier requested a guard of marines from the ships of war at the Bogue to come up to the city. All natives were forbidden on pain of death to sell any provisions to the British factory; and all foreigners to furnish supplies, on penalty of suffering the like restrictions themselves. At the same time the passage of foreign boats between Canton and Whampoa was forbidden; allowing the departure of foreigners but the return of no one whate-

ver. This has continued most strictly in force from the 6th inst to the present time (September 22d). The two British sloops of war were ordered within the Bogue, and on the 11th, they anchored at Whampoa.

The attitude of the Chinese Authorities was hereat uncompromising; and it remained only to Lord Napier to retire to Macao and await instructions.

His Lordship had, indeed, fallen ill of the vexations of the previous two months, aggravated by the excessive heat of the summer and after giving orders for the withdrawal of the two ships of war from the river, be embarked for Macao in native boats, by the inner passage; the Chinese conducting him as though he were a prisoner, with almost a constant beating of gongs and tomtoms and protracting the voyage for five days, to torment him: Thus the Authorities made it appear that they had expelled his Lordship and the ships of War at once from the inner waters.

The consequence of these harsh proceedings was his Lordships' death on the 11th of October.

Thus we see that the spirit of the Imperial Will was embodied in the arrogant words of the Vice Roy Loo:—

"*Obey and remain—disobey and depart,—there "are no two ways*":—And this curt text was the key-note of his Suceessors here until

High Commissioner Lin's "vaulting ambition o'erleaped itself "in 1839, in forcibly exacting the obedience thus enjoined by Loo. No communications with the Authorities were allowed save through the Hong Merchants; and they, still holding the monopoly of the Foreign Trade, were interested in the maintenance of the restrictive system: —So that they would receive none for delivery to the Authorities without prior perusal.—

Thus we were held disdainfully at arms' length; our respective Government Officers not being recognized as such by the Chinese Authorities.—

In the course of the next year or two several incidents exhibited this temper on the part of the Authorities.— Thus, the small Steamer "Jardine," in 1835, was fired upon by the Bogue Forts and the approach of all "Fire Ships"* was jealously interdicted by special Edicts; and soon after an order was issued against the U. S. Vessel of War "Vincennes," then lying at Lintin, to leave China. At a later period a Passenger Schooner from Macao was fired at by the Bogue Forts on suspicion of her having on board Admiral Maitland of the "Wellesley" or some of his Officers; and the Vice Roy ordered that only small boats without decks should be used by

* as steamers were called.

Foreigners;—the larger ones being forever interdicted.—

Such relations were as intolerable as they were insecure; but England was restrained by paramount reasons, already alluded to, from the application of undue pressure; whilst much less could any other Nation attempt it.—

There was obvious a conscious misgiving at Peking as to the result of the more stringent application of repressive measures; and it was said that the ViceRoy Loo, who died in 1835, had spent half a million of Taels to avert blame for the Canton *imbroglio*.—

There was in England, even less confidence in the preservation of peaceful relations; but the previous policy of conciliation was continued, notwithstanding the painful circumstances of Lord Napier's death:—the Government meantime sending a few vessels of War to watch the developments of the policy of the Court of Peking, and leaving accumulating grievances subject to the course of events. The precarious nature of our position was heightened by various untoward events; and as "*a life for a life*" was an axiom of Chinese Law, that in practice ignored the question of guilt or innocence, and claimed a

victim right or wrong, there was always a sense of danger weighing upon our minds;—as a writer then said:—"Left unprotected by their "own Governments, as Foreigners ever have "been, they may yet find another *Black Hole* "in the narrow Factories they now inhabit."—

The Chinese, on their part, soon began to find a grievance in the Opium Trade,—to which no allusion had been made either in connection with the Company's retiring, or Lord Napier's coming to Canton; and it was not until 1836 or 1837, that much stress was laid upon the subject. The impelling motive then was the efflux of Treasure; and that was the basis of a remarkable Memorial of Heu Naetse, President of the Sacrificial Court and late Salt Commissioner and Judge in Canton, in favor of the legalisation of the importation of the Drug;—his proposition being to make it simply an article of barter and to interdict the payment of money for it:—He says—"the object of repealing the in- "terdict against Opium is to prevent the loss of "Treasure occasioned by the sale of the Drug "for Money."—

The local Authorities and the Hong Merchants also reported in favor of the legalisation of its importation; and so confident were the Authorities and the Hong

Merchants that it would be admitted, that some of them actually dealt largely in the Drug on speculation : And among them the Vice-Roy, Tang, became compromised directly, as he had been before indirectly, by participation in the exactions levied upon its illegal introduction: A fact afterward recognized by the Emperor, when Tang was sent away in Chains.

Subsequently, several other high Officers sent in Memorials to the Emperor, counter to that of Heu Naetse, and citing instances to shew that when the Provincial Authorities faithfully applied the restrictions, illegal Traffic could be suppressed.— Thus, "In 1831 the English Foreigners brought up "guns, and introduced foreign females into "Canton, having the presumption to retain "them there, in the foreign factories. They "clandestinely built a stone pier and quay. "And, when going out and in, they had the "extravagance to sit in large sedan chairs. "The lieut-Governor, your Majesty's Minister, "Choo Kweiching, went personally to examine "into these matters ; he compelled the instant "demolition of the quay, and drove the foreign "females back to Macao. Again, in the year "1834 vessels of war of the same Nation "presumed to enter the inner waters. The "Governor, Loo Kwàn stopped up the channel

"of navigation, and displayed to view the milit-
"ary terrors; and repentance and fear speedily
"overtook them. From these instances it may
"be seen that, when the Laws are kept in
"force, the Foreigners may always be awed
"into subjection."—

These counter memorials were also referred to the Canton Authorities by the Emperor for deliberate consideration, notwithstanding that all here had previously reported in favor of the legalisation.—

In October 1837 the Provincial Officers memorialized the Throne to limit the number of Hong Merchants to 13.—

And the same month the policy of the Emperor, in the interdiction of Opium, was imperatively declared, by an Edict which included in its denunciations the names of several Foreigners.—

In November other Edicts appeared directed particularly against the Foreign Vessels at Lintin and the Opium Ports on the East Coast. Previously, in January 1837, Sir Charles Elliot had succeeded in opening communications with the Vice Roy Tang,—a Deputation from His Excellency, to visit Sir Charles at Macao, having returned and reported that he was a very quiet and peacable man and had no ulterior object to

effect ;—the duties of his Office being to control the Merchants and seamen of his Country. But in the succeeding Autumn Sir Charles was compelled to break off communications with the Authorities on the ground that they exacted of him the use of the term *Pin*, or Petition, in addressing them :— So he again hauled down the British Flag and retired to Macao ; recommending his Countrymen to avail of the occasion to make applications to the Provincial Authorities in relation to the debts due them by the bankrupt "Hing Tae" Hong.—

During intervals of comparative political repose, the leading members of the community had found time to organize in succession the three benevolent Societies of the "Medical Missionary Society" under charge of Dr. Parker; the "Society for the diffusion "of useful knowledge among the Chinese"; and "the Morrison Education Society."—

Mr. Jardine took a great interst in the prosperity of the former ; and, himself a Surgeon by original profession, attended the surgical operations and assisted Dr. Parker *con amore.*—

I believe it was he who, in a kindly benevolent spirit, paid the first patient with a broken arm $ 50. for the privilege of

its amputation,—which the poor sufferer demanded, imagining that the Foreigners saw their own pecuniary gain in the painful operation.—

Mr. Gernaert was the Consul of France at Canton at that period; and in 1838 the Frigate "L'Artemise," Captain La Place, came to Lintin and Macao,—having on board Mr. Ferdinand Barrot, brother of the celebrated Minister Odillon Barrot.—He and Captain La Place were guests of Mr. Lancelot Dent here, who entertained, them with a performance of Chinese Jugglers, in the Company's great hall, where I was invited, with my Cousin, to meet them.—

The year 1838 opened with aggravations of the hostile tone of relations; and altho' there was no longer any doubt of the serious wish of the Emperor to stop the Opium Trade, the open connivance of the subordinate Authorities and the notorious participation of the Vice Roy in the illegal fees exacted of the smugglers, led some of the foreign residents still to question the ultimate course of policy. Thus, there was a struggle between the native smugglers and their adherents, on the one hand, and the few faithful Officers, on the other,—participated in by some Foreigners commanding small craft,—that at

times almost reached open hostilities on the River.—

In October an Imperial Edict appeared, replying to a Memorial suggesting that Tea and Rhubarb should be sold only at fixed prices and for pure Silver alone.*—

* IMPERIAL EDICT. A memorial has been presented, pointing out, 'that the people of China do not all make use of opium, while tea and rhubarb are necessaries of life to every foreigner, and soliciting that prices may be fixed on the tea and rhubarb, and that the giving them in exchange for opium or other foreign goods may be prevented, and the purchase of them with pure silver alone allowed.'

Since opium has spread its baneful poison through China, the quantity of silver exported has been yearly on the increase, till its price has become enhanced, the copper coin depreciated, and the land and capitation taxes, the transport of grain, and the gabel, all alike hampered. If steps be not speedily taken for our defense, and if we do not strenuously seek to recover ourselves, the useful wealth of China will all be poured into the fathomless abyss of transmarine regions. The evil consequences to the national resources and to the people's well-being will be great.

What is recommended would seem to be practicable. Let Tang Tingching, Eleäng, and Yukwan, consider well the demands of the occasion, and weigh all the circumstances; let them minutely discuss and carefully mature measures, whereby the national wealth may be restored, and at the same time the means of striking terror into the barbarians may not be lost sight of. Let them also with hearty earnestness, and prudent discretion, deliberate and report as to the rules proper to be adopted, in reference to the transport of tea and rhubarb from the places of their growth in the several provinces,—the subjection of them to examination,—the requiring passes to be taken out,—the placing the care of observation in the hands of the local officers along the coast,—and the adoption of a like policy in regard to the exportation

of raw silk. They must not suffer their subordinates to influence them, by any pretence of the evil being so firmly established as to be past prevention, or to induce them to continue a system of connivance, perversion, and neglect. Let a copy of the memorial be sent for perusal, at the same time that these commands are brought to the knowledge of Tang Tingching and Eleäng, by whom they are to be communicated to Yukwan. Respect this.

In November Mr. Jardine took passage for London; and before he left a grand dinner was given in his honor by Mr. now Sir James Matheson his partner, who succeeded to the charge of the vast concerns of the House.—

There were about 100 present, including the partners of every British Firm, I believe, but one, and all the American Merchants, myself being the youngest. Many speeches were made by leading members of the community; and it was a very interesting event in which all present exhibited much cordiality. But it was eclipsed in magnitude and general interest by another given by the community as a whole to Mr. Jardine, with the single exception of the members of one Firm, Mr. Turner being the Chairman. This was given in the East India Company's Grand Hall and 166 persons participated in it.—

Then was seen what had never been seen at Canton before, Mr. Jardine himself and Mr. Wetmore attempting a Waltz to a simple

Negro melody by two Messrs Tiers of Philadelphia; who were the first to bring to Canton a few of the Negro Songs, then a novelty even in America.—

In his speech, returning thanks for our drinking to his "*health and a charming Wife*," Mr. Jardine said humorously that at his age the best he could hope for was "*Fat, fair, and Forty*"; and he availed of the occasion to say that his joy at the prospect of seeing his native land, was mingled with regrets at leaving the place where he had enjoyed a greater measure of comfort and security than he could expect elsewhere:—That although a residence at Canton had its disabilities and constraints, it had, also, compensations.—

Thus Mr. Jardine's departure was happily well-timed to exempt him from the serious complications that soon succeeded: —For in less than a month after, (in December 1838), the Vice Roy ordered an Opium Dealer strangled in front of the Factories; and when the Officer was about to erect the cross near the American Flag Staff, several English and American Gentlemen resisted the indignity and the Officer took the offender to another spot to execute the Governor's decree.— Subsequently the same day, a mob filled the neighborhood and attacked the Foreign Fact-

ories, driving us all into those nearest where we happened to be and destroying the glass of the windows, before a repressive force arrived. Then we learnt the way of communication over the roofs and Mr. Green of Russell & Co. thus found his way to the street in the rear and to Howqua's Hong to request him to send for the Police.—Up to that time the populace of Canton was perfectly obedient; and I well remember how, like a flock of sheep, the people ran through the gates *helter skelter* upon the mere waving of the hand of the portly Kwang Chau Foo.—

In the succeeding month of February the Authorities persisted in executing an Opium dealer in front of the Foreign Factories, whereupon the Flags of all Nations were struck: And on the 10th of March High Commissioner Lin arrived, with such ample power as had been given to but two delegates before by the present dynasty. On the 18th he issued his first Edicts, to both the Foreigners of all Nations and the Hong Merchants respectively; and no one any longer doubted the sincerity of the Emperor's interdiction of the Drug: But the emphasis laid on the loss of Silver, wherein Lin with gross exaggeration of statement, said:—"It is computed that the "loss of the Silver of China, during several

"years past, by exportation beyond sea, has not "been less than some hundreds of Millions" —qualified the admiration that a purely moral motive would have excited; and, taken with his admissions that he had come to promulgate a *new* Law, that,—to use his own words,— "*the prohibitions formerly enacted were comparatively lax*," and that there had been a general participation in the Opium trade by the Chinese, it was considered that virtually, by his own showing, Foreigners,—(who, according to the policy of the Imperial Government, were debarred from all knowledge of the wishes or purposes of the Emperor, except through the Hong Merchants,—no native being allowed to teach the language, even),— were exonerated from blame, or at least were not amenable to the penalties of the new Law. Nevertheless, he demanded the surrender of all the Opium on board all the ships on the Coast of China, far or near; and execution of a Bond by the Foreigners of each County, severally, written in both English and Chinese, engaging that thereafter no vessel should bring Opium; and if discovered, the parties should suffer the extreme penalties of the Law: And he allowed but three days for the delivery of the Opium and the execution of the Bond, declaring that one or two of the Hong Mer-

chants should suffer capital punishment if there was delay. The next day another Edict was issued making prisoners of all Foreigners in Canton. The excitement among Chinese and Foreigners was intense; and as we were surrounded by thousands, who were reading the Edicts, wherein the "able-bodied" of the people were appealed to in inflammatory language, we felt that the danger from mob violence was imminent. The Chamber of Commerce requested time beyond the three days, on the ground that the communications of the High Commissioner of the Emperor's will were of such vital importance and involved such complicated interests that the greatest deliberation was necessary; but affairs immediately assumed a still more serious aspect and all intercourse with the ships at Whampoa was cut off, even boats which had come to take Supercargoes to their vessels ready to sail and with the Grand Chop in their hands, being stopped at the point of embarkation.—

And the Commissioner threatened to come in person to the Consoo House of the Co-Hong the next day, "*when*"—said he in a great rage—"*you will see what I will do!*"—

The next day the Commissioner demanded that Mr. Dent should go into the City as a hostage. He offered to go; but the other

Merchants would not permit him to go without all going.—

On the 23rd the Prefect of the City with a Deputy of the Commissioner, and with Howqua and Mow Qua in Chains and without Buttons, came to the Consoo House; and thence went to Mr. Dent's house again, declaring that if they did not succeed in taking Mr. Dent into the City two of them would be put to death. Afterward two Officers came, stating that their orders were to take Mr. Dent by force before the Commissioner. Finally, it was agreed that four Gentlemen should go into the City to report the reasons for the refusal of Mr. Dent's friends to allow him to go there. Mr. Inglis (his Partner), Mr. Slade, Mr. Thom and Mr. Fearon—all of them speaking the language, accordingly went to the City, when one of the Officers declared that Mr. Dent would be dragged out of his house by force, if he did not come to the City voluntarily.—

At midnight the Hong merchants returned to Mr. Dent's; but being told that the next day was Sunday, they availed of that reason to ask a respite.—

Meantime, Sir Charles Elliot had heard, at Macao, of the demands of the Commissioner and issuing a Public notice there, started in H. M. Sloop "Larne" for the Bogue, and

thence came in his cutter to a fort below the city;—whence he took a boat, and sword in hand passed through a cordon of Mandarin boats just as it was closing in to cut off his approach,—and reached the British Factory: Thence immediately going to Mr. Dent's and escorting him to the Company's Hall, he there addressed all the foreigners assembled in it and read this Public notice:—

Public Notice to British Subjects.

The considerations that have moved the undersigned to give public notice to all her majesty's subjects that he is without confidence in the justice and moderation of the provincial government, are: The dangerous, unprecedented, and unexplained circumstance of a public execution before the factories at Canton, to the imminent hazard of life and property, and total disregard of the honor and dignity of his own and the other western governments, whose flags were recently flying in that square; the unusual assemblage of troops, vessels of war, fire ships, and other menacing preparations; the communication, by the command of the provincial government, that in the present posture of affairs the foreigners were no longer to seek for passports to leave Canton (according to the genius of our own countries, and the principles of reason, if not an act of declared war, at least its immediate and inevitable preliminary); and lastly, the threatening language of the high commissioner and provincial authorities, of the most general application, and dark and violent character. Holding it, therefore, impossible to maintain continued peaceful intercourse with safety, honor, or advantage, till definite and satisfactory explanations have passed in all these particulars, both as respects the past and the future, the undersigned has now to give further notice that he shall forthwith demand passports for all such of her majesty's subjects as may think fit to proceed outside, within the space of ten days from the

date that his application reaches the govenment; such date hereafter to be made known.

And he has to counsel and enjoin all her majesty's subjects in urgent terms to make immediate preparations for moving their property on board the ships Reliance, Orwell, and George the IV., or other British vessels at Whampoa, to be conveyed to Macao; forwarding him, without delay, a sealed declaration and list of all actual claims against Chinese subjects, together with an estimate of all loas or damage to be suffered by reason of these proceedings of the Chinese government. And he has further to give notice, that the Portuguese government of this settlement has already pledged itself to afford her majesty's subjects, resident here, every protection in its power so long as they shall be pursuing no course of traffic within the limits of the settlement at variance with the laws of this empire. And he has most especially to warn her majesty's subjects that such strong measures, as it may be necessary to adopt on the part of her majesty's government without further notice than the present, cannot be prejudiced by their continued residence in Canton (beyond the period now fixed), upon their own responsibility, or without further guaranties from the undersigned. And he has further to give notice, that if the passports shall be refused for more than three days from the date that his application shall reach the provincial government, he will be driven to the conclusion that it is their purpose to detain all her majesty's subjects as hostages; and to endeavor to intimidate them into unsuitable concessions and terms, by the restraint of their persons, or by violence upon their lives or property, or by the death of native merchants in immediate connexion with them, both by ties of friendship and of interest; or by the like treatment of their native servants.

The undersigned, in conclusion, most respectfully submits these observations to the attention of all the foreigners in China: And the respective governments closely united by a community of feeling and interests, not only in their own quarters of the globe, but most especially in this peculiar country, he feels that he is performing an act of duty in offering them every humble assistance in his power on this and all similar occasions, when they may be of opinion that he can be useful to them.

Given under my hand and seal of office at Macao, this twenty-third day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine.

(Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT, Chief Superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China.

"No sooner had captain Elliot landed, than alarm spead rapidly, and orders to close every pass around the factories resounded from post to post among the police. In a few minutes, the public square was cleared of all the natives; the entrances to it closed and guarded; the doors of the hongs, which on the two preceding nights had been watched by a few coolies, were now thronged with large companies of them, armed with spears, and provided with lanterns; a triple cordon of boats was placed along the banks of the river before the whole front of the factories, filled with armed men; soldiers were stationed on the roofs of the adjoining houses; and to close the scene, orders from the commissioner were given for all the compradors and servants to leave the hongs. By about nine o'clock at night, not a native was remaining in the factories; and the foreigners, between two and three hundred in number, were their only inmates. Canton, or at least that part of it adjacent to the factories, was now virtually under martial law. Patrols, sentinels, and officers, hastening hither and thither, with the blowing of trumpets and the beating of gongs, added confusion to the darkness and gloom of the night."

That the signal gallantry of Sir Charles Elliot may not be disparaged at this day, since the intrepidity and prowess of Foreigners and their more dreaded "Fire Ships" and other perfected scientific appliances have completely transferred the *prestige* in the native mind, whose conceit at that period lent a strength that emboldened to violent aggression; and that the dangers of the period may be more fully comprehended, I may here add

from my memoranda one of the many indications of them which, with his Notifications, will serve to present the then relative positions of Foreigners and Chinese in these respects, and shew at a glance the broad contrast which the relative attitudes of to-day afford.

Notice of March 25th for Night Signals.

"No. 1.—Two lights—horizontal—

"Immediate danger apprehended:
"In this case all Foreigners are invited
"to repair to the British Hall.—

"No. 2.—A single light—

"Safety:
"The signals will be exhibited from a
"bamboo."

Early on Wednesday, March 27th, a public notice, which we subjoin, was published by the chief superintendent of British trade in China.

Public Notice to British subjects.

I, Charles Elliot, chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China, presently forcibly detained by the provincial government, together with all the merchants of my own and the other foreign nations settled here, without supplies of food, deprived of our servants, and cut off from all intercourse with our respective countries, (notwithstanding my own official demand to be set at liberty so that I might act without restraint,) have now received the commands of the high commissioner, issued directly to me under the seals of the honorable officers, to deliver into his hand all the opium held by the people of my country. Now I, the said chief superintendent, thus constrained by paramount motives affecting the safety of the lives and liberty of all the foreigners here present in Canton, and by other very weighty causes,

do hereby, in the name and on the behalf of her Britannic majesty's government enjoin and require all her majesty's subjects now present in Canton forthwith to make a surrender to me for the service of her said majesty's government, to be delivered over to the government of China, of all the opium under their respective control: and to hold the British ships and vessels engaged in the trade of opium subject to my immediate direction: and to forward to me without delay a sealed list of all the British owned opium in their respective possession. And I, the said chief superintendent, do now, in the most full and unreserved manner, hold myself responsible for, and on the behalf of her Britannic majesty's government, to all and each of her majesty's subjects surrendering the said British owned opium into my hands, to be delivered over to the Chinese government. And I, the said chief superintendent, do further specially caution all her majesty's subjects here present in Canton, owners of or charged with the management of opium, the property of British subjects, that failing the surrender of the said opium into my hands at or before six o'clock this day, I the said chief superintendent, hereby declare her majesty's government wholly free of all manner of responsibility in respect of the said British owned opium.

And it is specially to be understood that proof of British property and value of all British opium surrendered to me agreeably to this notice shall be determined upon principles and in a manner hereafter to be defined by her majesty's government.

Given under my hand and seal of office at Canton in China, this twenty-seventh day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine, at six of the clock in the morning.

[L. S.] (Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT,

Chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China.

And I close the present Narrative with his *Public notice to British Subjects, of April 3rd* 1839, announcing the result of his negotiations with Lin.

"The undersigned has now to announce that arrangements have been made for the delivery of the Opium lately surrendered to him for Her Majesty's service, by which His Excellency the High Commissioner has stipulated that the servants shall be restored after one fourth of the whole be delivered; the passage boats be permitted to run after one half be delivered; the Trade opened after three fourths be delivered; and every thing to proceed as usual after the whole be delivered; (the signification of which last expression the undersigned does not understand). Breach of faith (and His Excellency not unnaturally, is pleased to suppose that breach of faith may be possible) is to be visited, after three days of loose performance of engagements, with the cutting off of supplies of fresh water; after three days, more with the stoppage of food; and after three days more, with the last degree of severity on the undersigned himself. He passes by these grave forms of speech without comment. But with the papers actually before him, and all circumstances in hand, he is satisfied that the effectual liberation of the Queen's subjects, and all the other Foreigners in Canton, depends upon the promptitude with which this arrangement is completed.—The maintenance of the national character, and

the validity of the claim for indemnity depend upon that scrupulousness of fidelity with which he is well assured his countrymen will enable him to fulfil his public obligations to this Government.—As soon as the whole of the Opium surrendered to him be delivered over to the Chinese Officers, it will be the duty of the undersigned to communicate with his Countrymen again.—But it is a present relief to him to express to the whole Foreign Community his admiration for the patience and kindly feeling which has uniformly distinguished this community throughout these trying circumstances.—And he offers his own Countrymen his grateful thanks for their confidence in his sincerest efforts to lead them safely out of their actual strait.—The ultimate satisfactory solution of the remaining difficulties need give no man an anxious thought. The permanent stability of the British trade with this Empire, with honor and advantage to all parties, rests upon a firm foundation :—Upon the wisdom, justice and power of Her Majesty's Government.—

(signed) CHARLES ELLIOT
Chief Superintendent of the Trade of British Subjects in China."—

I may here ask your kind attention for a few moments longer? while I sketch the outlines of the change wrought in the interval, since the point to which I have now reached in my recital;—as although a simple narrative of occurrences may entertain, if it presents a faithful mirror of the time, I am mindful that the utility of such a recital consists in the contrasts it presents of life and manners, in the relation in which Foreigners then stood toward the Chinese and the reality of our life here to-day,—in order that the measure of progress in the amelioration of intercourse may be comprehended.—

You have seen that political change then implied, in a much greater degree than it does now, social change in our relations to the Chinese people. At that time,—whilst, on the one hand, Foreign Ladies were jealously excluded from Canton;—so on the other, no Chinese Lady could even be seen by a Foreigner, except by a stolen glance accidentally and very rarely on the occasion of dining at some Hong Merchant's house,—when the natural curiosity of the younger Ladies induced their peering from behind curtains:—Whereas, a few years ago, I had six Chinese Ladies of the Houqua Family spending the day and taking tiffin at my Hong, to meet an English Lady who was then my guest.—

But here, at Shameen, is presented a contrast that illustrates the marked change in the whole of our relations with the Government and people of China: For whereas, in the *Regime* of monopoly, when as I have shewn you, the systems of the E. I. Company and the Co-Hong were co-working restrictively and no Foreign Women were admitted within the Bogue,—on the principle that if Foreigners were allowed their families here, they would sooner or later endanger the rights of Sovereignty,—now, this apprehension is allayed and here are many families living in the security and happiness of a home.—

Here on this very spot, and now, is seen the type and measure of the change, wrought since I was left a helpless prisoner on yonder spot, with the whole Foreign Community,—awaiting the revelations of the irresponsible will of High Commissioner Lin.

That such a Gem as this Shameen,—such a Pearl, should be fished-up from what was little more than a pool of eddying mud, is a reality beyond one's imaginative dreams;—that now, as I see it before me, its front of emerald sheen sparkling with the light of Ladies' and Children's eyes and set as a coronet of brilliants on the brow of the Queen-City of the South,— is a marvel of change, indeed, in my eyes.—

And let us hope that this Great Mart of other days will never descend to the social or commercial degradations of a "*Little Pedlington*;" but that,—on the contrary,—the rights of its geographical position and safe navigation may be restored, and its true destiny,—of more than pristine greatness,—may soon be found in the prosperity that the Science of the age opens to it;—that the civilizing forces of steam and electricity may soon be applied to the opening-up of the waste places of the broad "inner land," and in the quickening of that mutual interchange that fructifies every interest of man, and surely leads to a moral and material harvest. Let us hope that our native friends will soon learn to welcome the neighing of the Iron Horse as he careers from town to town exultingly,—seeming to say, in the consciousness of his strength, in words that my young friends will remember:—

"Harness me down with your iron bands,
Make sure of your Curb and Rein;
For I scorn the power of your puny hands
As the Tempest scorns a chain!"

APPENDIX.

"With regard to hiring and employing natives in the barbarian factories, there must be limits and rules clearly settled.

On examination it appears, that it was formerly the regulation, that the trading barbarians should not be permitted to hire and employ any natives except linguists and compradors. In the 11th year of Taoukwang it was, on representation (to the throne), permitted, that in the barbarian factories, for gatekeepers, and for carriers of water and carriers of goods, natives might be hired for (foreigners) by the compradors. But the silly populace earnestly gallop after gain, and possess but little shame. And adjoining the provincial city, are many persons who understand the barbarian speech. If the barbarians be allowed to hire them at their own pleasure, it will be difficult to prevent unlawful combination and traitorious procedure. It is evidently befitting that a limit and rule should be fixed, and that a special responsibility should be created.

Hereafter, in each barbarian factory, whatever be the number of barbarians inhabiting it, whether few or many, it shall be permitted only to employ two gate-keepers and four water-carriers; and each barbarian merchant may hire one man to keep his goods. It shall not be permitted to employ any more than this limited number. The comprador of the barbarian factory shall be held responsible for hiring these men; the linguists shall be held responsible for securing, and filling up the places of the compradors; and the hong merchants shall be held responsible for securing, and filling up the places of the linguists. (This will be) a shutting up rule, extending through progressive grades. If there be any illicit combination or breach of law, only the one who hired and stood security shall be answerable. At the same time commands shall be given to the superintending hong merchant, to make out monthly a fair list of the names and birthplaces of the compradors and coolies under each barbarian's name, and hand it in to the district magistrate, to be kept in the archives, ready at any time to be examined. As to the carriers of goods, the linguists shall be commanded to hire them miscellaneously, when the time comes (that they are required); and when the business is finished to send them back. With regard to natives being hired to become the menial attendants of barbarian merchants, under the name of *shawan* [servants], it shall still be for ever prohibited. Should merchants hire coolies beyond the limited number, or clandestinely hire *shawan* [servants] as menial attendants, the linguists and hong merchants shall both receive punishment."

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